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## CHAPTER 17

# **International Conflict Resolution and Avoidance**

#### A. MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

On July 19, 2013, United States Secretary of State John Kerry announced that the Israelis and Palestinians had reached an agreement that establishes a basis for resuming direct final status negotiations. On July 23, 2013 at a Security Council debate on the Middle East, Acting U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN, Rosemary A. DiCarlo remarked on the Middle East Peace Process, emphasizing that certain recent actions at the UN by the Palestinians do not contribute to the process. Her remarks are excerpted below and available in full at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/212299.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/212299.htm</a>. For further discussion about Palestinian actions at the UN, see Chapter 7.

\* \* \* \*

The United States is deeply committed to a just and lasting peace with Israelis and Palestinians living side by side in peace and security. This is why Secretary of State Kerry has made repeated visits to the region and focused so heavily on this effort. Last week, after his sixth trip to the region as Secretary, he was able to announce that the Parties had reached an agreement that establishes a basis for resuming direct final status negotiations.

He also stressed that the agreement was in the process of being formalized and that, in the meantime, none of the parties would be making public comments about the negotiations so as to improve the likelihood that the talks could indeed succeed.

As Secretary Kerry noted, everyone is aware that this process will not be easy. And no one believes that the longstanding differences between the parties can be resolved overnight or just wiped away. We know that the challenges require some very tough choices in the days ahead. Today, however, we are hopeful, because the representatives of two proud people have decided that the difficult road ahead is worth traveling and that the daunting challenges that we face are worth tackling. So they have courageously recognized that in order for Israelis and

Palestinians to live together side by side in peace and security, they must begin by sitting at the table together in direct talks.

It is important to note that this diplomatic effort would not have been possible without strong international support. The Arab Peace Initiative Follow-Up Committee, the Quartet envoys, and many others played a vital role in supporting the resumption of negotiations. The Secretary General, European partners and others around the world also weighed in with strong statements of support.

We should now continue to urge all sides to avoid taking unilateral actions, including steps at the United Nations. Our shared objective at this critical moment must be on building the trust and confidence necessary for a lasting peace. In this regard, the United States' position remains that UNGA resolution 67/19 did not establish that "Palestine" is a state. The United States is committed to helping bring about a viable Palestinian state through bilateral negotiations with their Israeli counterparts. This is the only real path to genuine statehood for the Palestinian people, as repeatedly affirmed by both sides and endorsed by the international community.

In the end, those who are most responsible for this process are the parties themselves. We applaud the courageous leadership shown by President Abbas and Prime Minister Netanyahu in taking this step forward. As the parties work through the complicated issues they face, we should encourage them with all possible support.

\* \* \* \*

On July 29, 2013, President Obama issued a statement, below, on the resumption of peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Daily Comp. Pres. Docs., 2013 DCPD No. 00536, p. 1 (July 29, 2013).

\* \* \* \*

I am pleased that Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas have accepted Secretary Kerry's invitation to formally resume direct final status negotiations and have sent senior negotiating teams to Washington for the first round of meetings. This is a promising step forward, though hard work and hard choices remain ahead.

During my March visit to the region, I experienced firsthand the profound desire for peace among both Israelis and Palestinians, which reinforced my belief that peace is both possible and necessary. I deeply appreciate Secretary Kerry's tireless work with the parties to develop a common basis for resuming direct talks and commend both Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas for their leadership in coming to the table.

The most difficult work of these negotiations is ahead, and I am hopeful that both the Israelis and Palestinians will approach these talks in good faith and with sustained focus and determination. The United States stands ready to support them throughout these negotiations, with the goal of achieving two states living side by side in peace and security.

I am pleased that Ambassador Martin Indyk will lead the U.S. negotiating team as U.S. Special Envoy for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations. Ambassador Indyk brings unique experience

and insight to this role, which will allow him to contribute immediately as the parties begin down the tough, but necessary, path of negotiations.

\* \* \* \*

#### B. PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

### 1. Syria

### a. Security Council

On May 15, 2013, Ambassador DiCarlo delivered a statement on a draft resolution on Syria that was co-sponsored by the United States. Like previous efforts to pass a strong Syria resolution at the Security Council, this one was unsuccessful. Ambasssador DiCarlo's remarks are excerpted below and available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/209430.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/209430.htm</a>.

\* \* \* \*

...Over the last 26 months we have witnessed a brutal conflict in Syria. The Assad regime, drawing upon an arsenal of heavy weapons, aircraft, ballistic missiles, and—potentially—chemical weapons, has killed or injured untold numbers of civilians who for many months manifested their opposition purely through peaceful protest. The sustained violence has created a severe humanitarian crisis with more than 1.4 million refugees and 4.25 million internally displaced persons within Syria.

The consequences of this crisis are growing more dire not only within Syria, but across the region. The generosity of the governments and people of Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq and others who host large numbers of refugees has been extraordinary, but these countries now face grave threats to their security and an overwhelming economic burden. It is clear that we need a Syrian-led peaceful political transition.

With this in mind, the United States and the Russian Federation announced on May 7 an initiative to bring the Syrian regime and the opposition together in an effort to try to advance a political solution under the framework agreed to in Geneva in June 2012. In our view, the resolution before you is consistent with this latest initiative. Adopting this resolution will send a clear message that the political solution we all seek is the best way to end the suffering of the people of Syria.

We support this resolution, have co-sponsored it, and urge member states to vote in favor of it.

\* \* \* \*

In September, in briefings with international partners at the UN and at a Security Council session on Syria, the United States presented its conclusion that the Assad regime had carried out a mass casualty chemical weapons attack against the Syrian people on August 21, 2013. Ambassador Power's remarks at the Security Council on September 5, 2013 are excerpted below and available at

<u>http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/213849.htm</u>. For further discussion of the UN Security Council's actions on Syria's chemical weapons, see Chapter 19.F.1.

\* \* \* \*

As part of the United States' ongoing consultations with international partners, allies, and the broader international community, today the U.S. Mission hosted a series of briefings for Member States regarding the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime on August 21st. Today's briefings presented our assessment regarding the events of August 21 in the suburbs of Damascus, which overwhelmingly point to one stark conclusion: the Assad regime perpetrated a large-scale and indiscriminate attack against its own people using chemical weapons.

The actions of the Assad regime are morally reprehensible and they violate clearly established international norms. The use of chemical weapons is not America's redline. As President Obama said yesterday, "This is the world's red line." 189 countries, representing 98% of the world's population, and all 15 members of the UN Security Council, agree that the use of chemical weapons is abhorrent and we have all collectively approved a treaty forbidding their use even when countries are engaged in war.

Let me address now an issue on many on your minds. We in the United States agree with the view that—at times like this—the Security Council should live up to its obligations and should act. That is why for two and a half years we have brought press statements, presidential statements, resolutions, and a whole host of Syria-related concerns to the UN Security Council, each time hoping that our common security and our common humanity might prevail, each time making the case that countries on the Council should be motivated by our shared interest in international peace and security, in protecting civilians, but also in preventing extremism, regional spillover, and chemical weapons use.

Unfortunately, for the past two and a half years, the system devised in 1945 precisely to deal with threats of this nature did not work as it was supposed to. It has not protected peace and security for the hundreds of Syrian children who were gassed to death on August 21. It is not protecting the stability of the region. It is not standing behind now an internationally accepted ban on the use of chemical weapons. Instead, the system has protected the prerogatives of Russia, the patron of a regime that would brazenly stage the world's largest chemical weapons attack in a quarter century—while chemical weapons inspectors sent by the United Nations were just across town. And even in the wake of the flagrant shattering of the international norm against chemical weapons use, Russia continues to hold the Council hostage and shirk its international responsibilities, including as a party to the Chemical Weapons Convention.

What we have learned—what the Syrian people have learned—is that the Security Council the world needs to deal with this crisis is not the Security Council we have. Nonetheless, as the Secretary General himself has stressed, chemical weapons must "not become a tool of war or terror in the twenty-first century." It is in our interest—and the interest of all member states of the UN—to respond decisively to this horrific attack.

\* \* \* \*

On October 2, 2013, the president of the UN Security Council issued a statement on Syria on behalf of the Council. U.N. Doc. S/PRST/2013/15. The October 2 presidential

statement urges in particular that the Syrian regime allow unhindered access for humanitarian relief activities for the Syrian people.

### b. International cooperation outside of the Security Council

As Ambassador DiCarlo mentioned in her statement above, the initiative to advance a political solution to the Syria crisis under the framework agreed to in Geneva in June 2012 continued in 2013. On May 7, 2013, after meetings in Moscow with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, Secretary Kerry announced the shared intention of the governments of Russia and the United States to convene "Geneva II," a follow-on conference to advance the goals of the 2012 Geneva communique.\* Secretary Kerry's remarks are excerpted below and available in full at

www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/05/209117.htm.

\* \* \* \*

We believe that the Geneva communique is the important track to end the bloodshed in Syria, and it should not be a piece of paper. It should not be a forgotten communique of diplomacy. It should be the roadmap, the implemented manner by which the people of Syria could find their way to the new Syria, and by which the bloodshed, the killing, the massacres can end. Encouraging the stated intentions of the Syrian Government and the opposition groups to find a political solution, both have said they want to, both are committed to it. And recently, the opposition came to Istanbul and signed a set of declarations regarding its embrace of the Geneva communique.

And so to that end, Foreign Minister Lavrov and I have agreed that as soon as is practical, possibly and hopefully by the end of this month, we will convene—seek to convene an international conference as a follow-on to last summer's Geneva conference. And the specific work of this next conference will be to bring representatives of the government and the opposition together to determine how we can fully implement the means of the communique, understanding that the communique's language specifically says that the Government of Syria and the opposition have to put together, by mutual consent, the parties that will then become the transitional government itself.

Our two countries, the United States and Russia, reiterate our commitment to the sovereignty and the territorial unity of Syria, and to the full implementation of the Geneva communique, recognizing this requires the mutual consent of both parties. Therefore, we have agreed to use our good offices, both of us, to bring both sides to the table working with our other core coalition partners and other allies and interested parties to bring both sides to the table in partnership with the concerned foreign countries that are committed themselves to helping the Syrians to find a promising political solution within the Geneva framework.

We've also affirmed our commitment to a negotiated settlement as the essential means of ending the bloodshed, addressing humanitarian disaster in Syria, and addressing the problem of

<sup>\*</sup> Editor's note: The Geneva II conference eventually took place in January 2014 and will be discussed further in *Digest 2014*.

the security of chemical weapons and forestalling further regional instability. We believe that full implementation of the Geneva communique calls for a transition governing body as specifically set forth in the language of the communique, which is formed by mutual consent with the support of the international community and enjoying full executive authority—that means the full authority to run and manage the government, including the military and security services, and then doing so as soon as we can possibly implement it is the best way to resolve the crisis in Syria.

\* \* \* \*

On May 22, 2013, several countries participating in a ministerial meeting in Amman, Jordan issued a joint statement on Syria, which appears below as part of a State Department media note, available at

www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/05/209820.htm.

\* \* \* \*

The Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar and the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, U.A.E., U.K., USA and Jordan came together in Amman on May 22nd 2013 to deliberate on the developments in Syria and to reemphasize their support to find a political solution to the crisis in Syria. The representatives from the leadership of the Syrian National Coalition of the Revolutionary and Opposition Forces also attended part of the meeting, and briefed the Ministers on the situation inside Syria.

The Ministers reviewed their discussions in the Rome meeting of February 28th 2013, and recalled the joint statement of Istanbul of April 20th 2013 that supports a political solution in Syria on the basis of the Geneva Communique of June 30th 2012.

The Ministers supported the participation in the Geneva meeting for the purpose of the full implementation of the outcomes of the first Geneva meeting to end the bloodshed, fulfill the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people, preserve the territorial integrity of the country, and strengthen the national unity amongst all components of the Syrian national fabric. The Ministers emphasized the central role of the United Nations Security Council in the realization of this effort.

The Ministers condemned in the strongest terms the use of heavy weapons including ballistic missiles against the people, and deplored the ethnic cleansing that the regime is pursuing as seen recently in Banias, and declared that such crimes will not go unpunished.

The Ministers stressed that the political process to reflect positively and tangibly on the daily lives of the Syrian civilian population, including the release of prisoners, the delivery of humanitarian assistance and end the killing of civilians.

The Ministers identified as the corner stone of a political solution the formation of a transitional governing body through mutual consent, within a defined and agreed upon timeframe, to assume full executive authority, including all powers of the Presidency in addition to control over the armed forces and the security and intelligence apparatuses, for an agreed upon and defined timeframe for the transitional period. The Ministers affirmed that the final objective of the transitional period should include the adoption of a new Syrian constitution that guarantees the equal rights of all citizens.

The Ministers underlined that the attainment of the political solution that meets the aspirations of the Syrian people means, as stated in the Abu Dhabi joint statement of the May 13th 2013, that Assad, his regime, and his close associates with blood on their hands cannot play any role in the future of Syria.

The Ministers reiterated their support to the Syrian National Coalition of the Revolutionary and Opposition Forces and welcomed the efforts by the Coalition to expand their base of representation to include all components of Syrian society, and emphasized the central and leading role of the Coalition in the opposition delegation to the anticipated international conference on Syria. Furthermore, the Ministers reiterated the right to self defense of the Syrian people, and committed to offer additional support to reinforce the role and capacity of the Supreme Military Council (SMC).

The Ministers expressed their strong concern over the increasing presence and growing radicalism on both sides of the conflict and terrorist elements in Syria; a matter that deepens the concerns for the future of Syria, threatens the security of neighboring countries and risks destabilizing the wider region and the world.

The Ministers denounced the intervention of foreign combatants fighting on behalf of the regime, and consider their presence a flagrant intervention on Syrian territory and a serious threat to regional stability. In this context, the Ministers stressed in particular the operations conducted by Hezbollah in Qusair and elsewhere and called for the immediate withdrawal of Hezbollah, fighters from Iran, and other regime allied foreign fighters from Syrian territory.

The Ministers expressed their deep concern over the deteriorating humanitarian conditions in Syria, as well as the threat they pose to the stability and security of neighboring countries hosting Syrian refugees. They underlined the importance of cross border humanitarian operations and called upon the international community to support host countries to address the pressures arising from hosting refugees based on the principles of burden sharing and to prevent any implications for international peace and security.

The Ministers viewed with extreme concern the growing number of reports and strong indications of the use of chemical weapons by the regime in Syria. The Ministers emphasized the importance of enabling the UN to conduct a comprehensive investigation regarding the use of such weapons. The Ministers stressed that there will be severe consequences if these reports are confirmed.

The Ministers also emphasized that until such time as the Geneva meeting produces a transitional government, they will further increase their support for the opposition and take all other steps as necessary.

Finally, the Ministers agreed to strengthen cooperation and coordination among themselves and with international partners to ensure the successful convening of the international conference leading to a political solution to the Syrian crisis.

\* \* \* \*

# c. Syria Justice and Accountability Center

On February 20, 2013, the State Department issued a fact sheet, available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205075.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205075.htm</a>, describing the Syria Justice and Accountability Center ("SJAC"). Excerpts follow from the fact sheet, explaining its mission and its reliance on the Rome Statute.

\_\_\_\_

The Syria Justice and Accountability Center (SJAC) is an independent entity that focuses on:
1) Collection and analysis of documentation related to ongoing violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL) in Syria; 2) Coordination of Syrian and international actors working on documentation and transitional justice efforts; and 3) Education and outreach on transitional justice concepts and processes.

\* \* \* \*

The SJAC is multilateral initiative, supported by the United States along with 40 other governments and international organizations.

The SJAC is categorizing information based on international crimes (genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes) listed under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (often referred to as the Rome Statute).

Project Background:

The SJAC operationalizes the commitment made by many states to support the documentation of human rights violations in Syria at the second Friends of the Syrian People (FOSP) meeting in Istanbul on April 1, 2012.

\* \* \* \*

The official SJAC website is <u>www.syriaaccountability.org</u>.

The SJAC website features an interactive map that allows users to view statistics about human rights violations committed across various categories: massacres, indiscriminate killings, torture and detention, and property damage. All of the data displayed on the site is downloadable and includes links to the original sources of information. The SJAC website is updated regularly to include the latest reporting from the latest sources of information on the conflict in Syria. International Support:

Under the sponsorship of Morocco and the United States, and the co-chairmanship of the Moroccan Organization for Human Rights and the Syria Justice & Accountability Center (SJAC), a donor conference in support of the SJAC was held in Rabat, Morocco on September 14, 2012.

\* \* \* \*

Relationship to UN Commission of Inquiry:

The SJAC complements but does not supplant the efforts of the UN Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry (COI) on Syria. SJAC staff has met with the COI and are in regular communication as the SJAC is implemented.

\* \* \* \*

### 2. Democratic Republic of Congo

On February 24, 2013, the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo ("DRC") and ten other African heads of state signed the Peace, Security, and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo. U.S. Ambassador to the UN Susan E. Rice\*\* delivered remarks welcoming the framework agreement. Ambassador Rice's comments are excerpted below and available at

http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205141.htm.

\* \* \* \*

The United States welcomes today's signing of the Peace, Security, and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Region, a significant step toward promoting long-term peace in the Great Lakes. We applaud the leadership of Presidents Kabila, Kagame, and Museveni in advancing the peace process; the personal engagement of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and his chef de cabinet, Susana Malcorra; and the constructive role played by the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the African Union (AU), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

This agreement is only a beginning. States in the region must now work to elaborate detailed agreements that address the root causes of the cycle of violence. For decades, civilians in the Great Lakes region, particularly in eastern DRC, have been killed, raped, abused, displaced, and otherwise victimized on a horrific scale. They deserve the full commitment of regional governments and the international community to ending the violence once and for all.

The United States urges the DRC to seize the opportunity of renewed international engagement to uphold its commitments to an extension of state authority in the east, to security sector reform, and to improved governance. It is equally imperative that the DRC's neighbors respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity by preventing external support to armed groups, which is a violation of international obligations. We also urge the parties to address collectively the egregious use of sexual violence as a tactic of war, impunity for human rights abusers, the illegal exploitation of minerals, the prevention of further population displacements, and land issues.

We further believe the crisis in eastern DRC is an opportunity for the UN Security Council to completely reassess MONUSCO's mandate to enhance the Mission's effectiveness.

\* \* \* \*

On February 25, 2013, the Department of State issued a press statement on the signing of the Framework Agreement, excerpted below and available at <a href="https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/02/205161.htm">www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/02/205161.htm</a>.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Editor's Note: Susan Rice left her post as U.S. Ambassador to the UN on June 25, 2013 to become National Security Adviser to President Obama. On August 5, 2013 Samantha Power was sworn in as U.S. Ambassador to the UN.

\* \* \* \*

The United States strongly supports the initiative of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and ten other African heads of state in signing the Peace, Security, and Cooperation Framework for the DRC and the Region, witnessed by three African regional bodies and the United Nations.

The continuing security and humanitarian crisis in eastern DRC highlights the urgent need for accelerated reforms within the DRC and increased cooperation among key countries in the Great Lakes region, particularly the DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda. We commend all the signatories for acknowledging their essential responsibilities in promoting regional peace and security. We urge the DRC to seize the opportunity to uphold its commitments to an extension of state authority in the east, to security sector reform, and to improved governance. It is equally imperative that the DRC's neighbors respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity by preventing external support to armed groups. We encourage all parties to live up to the spirit and letter of their joint framework agreement.

The framework needs to be a foundation, both within the DRC and in the region, for a sustained and serious dialogue to ensure that the signatories hold each other accountable for their commitments. The United States urges the signatories to quickly establish concrete follow-up mechanisms for implementing the framework at the national and regional level, and with the participation of key stakeholders, including the international community, local communities, and civil society. We are prepared to support this process. In this regard, we look forward to the appointment of a high-level UN envoy to lead international support for the framework's implementation. We also support a close and comprehensive review by the Security Council of the UN peacekeeping operation in the DRC, which will also have a critical role in supporting dialogue and security.

Both the region and the international community must support the Congolese people and the region in breaking the long cycle of conflict and violence. We urge all parties to take advantage of this opportunity to ensure that the future of the DRC and the region is more peaceful and prosperous than the past.

\* \* \* \*

On March 28, 2013, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 2098 on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. U.N. Doc. S/RES/2098. Among other things, resolution 2098 extends the mandate of MONUSCO and authorizes an "Intervention Brigade," to neutralize armed groups. Ambassador Jeffrey DeLaurentis, U.S. Alternate Representative to the United Nations for Special Political Affairs, delivered the explanation of vote for the United States at the adoption of the resolution. Ambassador DeLaurentis's statement is excerpted below and available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/206774.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/206774.htm</a>.

\* \* \* \*

...Following the signing of the regional framework agreement, we find ourselves at a key turning point in the DRC.

The framework process, which included personal engagement from Secretary-General Ban, has breathed new life into efforts to find a durable peace in eastern DRC, where over 5 million have lost their lives since 1998.

In light of the renewed commitments from the DRC, its neighbors, and the international community laid out in the framework, the Security Council has acted today to ensure that MONUSCO's mandate supports the framework agreement in its efforts to address the root causes of conflict.

Given the introduction of the Intervention Brigade, the United States has been particularly mindful of the need to "set MONUSCO up for success" by streamlining the other tasks that MONUSCO—particularly its military component—are tasked to. We underscore today that efforts to protect civilians and neutralize armed groups must remain at the forefront of tasks for MONUSCO, and are duties that all MONUSCO peacekeepers must do their utmost to perform.

We recognize the need for continued coordination with the civilian side in these efforts, particularly to ensure the protection of children and women, and to prevent continuation of the horrible streak of sexual violence in the DRC. In this regard, we fully support MONUSCO's continued role in human rights monitoring, which we see as a key part of protecting civilians.

The Security Council has demonstrated its commitment to achieving peace in the DRC by authorizing the Intervention Brigade today. We call on the DRC government to meet its commitment to the parameters in the framework, particularly in implementing credible Security Sector Reform. We also call on the DRC's neighbors to meet their commitments in the Framework agreement.

As we look ahead, we welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of Mary Robinson as his Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region and will support her efforts to craft and ensure implementation of a political process that complements the work of MONUSCO to bring lasting peace to the citizens of eastern DRC.

\* \* \* \*

#### 3. Lebanon

In July 2013, when the United States held the presidency of the UN Security Council, the Security Council issued a presidential statement on Lebanon, excerpted below and available in full at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/211756.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/211756.htm</a>.

\* \* \* \*

The Security Council is encouraged by the calm that continues to prevail across the Blue Line and in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon's (UNIFIL) area of operations. It urges all parties to make every effort to ensure that the cessation of hostilities is sustained, and emphasizes the need for them to continue working with the Special Coordinator and UNIFIL, including through the tripartite mechanism, to focus again on the goal of a permanent ceasefire and to reflect positively on ways forward on all outstanding issues in the implementation of Security Council resolutions 1701 (2006), 1680 (2006), and 1559 (2004) and other relevant Security Council resolutions. The Council also recalls the necessity for all parties to ensure the security of

the contributing troops and that the freedom of movement of UNIFIL is fully respected and unimpeded.

The Security Council expresses deep concern at all violations of Lebanon's sovereignty and calls on all parties to fully respect Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence within its internationally recognized borders, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

As the impact of the Syrian crisis on Lebanon's stability and security becomes more and more apparent, the Security Council underscores its growing concern at the marked increase of cross-border fire from the Syrian Arab Republic into Lebanon, which caused death and injury among the Lebanese population, as well as incursions, abductions, and arms trafficking across the Lebanese-Syrian border. The Security Council also expresses its concern at all other border violations. The Security Council echoes President Michel Sleiman's protest, in his letter of June 18, 2013 at such repeated shelling from the conflicting parties, including by the Syrian Arab armed Forces and Syrian armed opposition groups, that violate Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Security Council further notes with deep concern new developments with regard to the involvement of Lebanese parties in the fighting in Syria. The Security Council calls upon all Lebanese parties to recommit to Lebanon's policy of disassociation, to stand united behind President Michel Sleiman in this regard and to step back from any involvement in the Syrian crisis, consistent with their commitment in the Baabda Declaration of 12th of June 2012. The Security Council further echoes President Sleiman's call on the parties in Syria to avoid military action near the Lebanese border.

In the face of attempts to undermine the country's stability, the Security Council encourages all parties in Lebanon to demonstrate renewed unity and determination to resist a slide into conflict and commends in this regard the continued efforts of President Michel Sleiman to preserve Lebanon's unity and stability and underlines that continued broad political support is needed for the institutions of the State.

The Council urges all parties in Lebanon to continue to engage with Prime Minister designate Tammam Salam so as to allow the urgent formation of a government. The Security Council further encourages all Lebanese leaders to resume efforts to agree arrangements for parliamentary elections, consistent with Lebanon's long standing democratic tradition and in conformity with the legal and constitutional framework.

The Security Council also stresses the need to support the security and judicial authorities so as to combat impunity in respects of acts of violence. It also recalls the need to put an end to impunity in Lebanon and reiterates its full support for the work of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon and urges the Lebanese authorities to continue meeting their international obligations in this regard, including on financial matters. The Council calls upon all parties to fully cooperate with the Tribunal.

The Security Council also condemns recent violence by armed groups across Lebanon, including those in Tripoli and Sidon, the latter of which left at least 16 soldiers dead and over 50 others wounded and expresses condolences to the families of the victims. The Security Council also acknowledges the crucial role played by the Lebanese security and armed forces in extending and sustaining the authority of the State and responding to new security challenges. The Council calls on Lebanon's leaders across the whole spectrum and Lebanese of all communities to offer every possible support to the Lebanese Armed Forces as a national and neutral institution and central pillar of the country's stability.

The Security Council is gravely concerned at the dramatic influx of refugees fleeing violence in Syria, now totalling over 587,000 Syrian refugees and an additional 65,500 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The Council commends Lebanon's generous efforts in hosting and assisting those refugees and encourages the establishment of fully empowered institutional structures to carry out planning, delivery and coordination responsibilities.

The Security Council stresses the need for strong, coordinated international support for Lebanon to help it continue to withstand the multiple current challenges to its security and stability. It encourages increased international support to the Lebanese Armed Forces, in response to their recently launched capabilities development plan as well as in the context of the Strategic Dialogue between the Lebanese Armed Forces and UNIFIL. It notes the particular urgency of assistance which would strengthen the Lebanese Armed Forces' capabilities with respect to border control.

As for the refugee crisis, the Security Council underlines the need for assistance on an unprecedented scale, both to meet the needs of the refugees and of host communities, and to assist the Lebanese authorities who face extraordinary financial and structural challenges as a result of the refugee influx. The Council calls in this regard upon the international community to provide the required assistance as swiftly as possible to the latest joint appeal of the United Nations and the Government of Lebanon and in this regard urges those Member States which committed themselves to providing funds to live up to their pledges.

\* \* \* \*

### 4. Lord's Resistance Army

On May 29, 2013, Ambassador Rice delivered remarks at a Security Council briefing by Abou Moussa, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General ("SRSG") and Head of the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa ("UNOCA"). Her remarks are excerpted below and available at

http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/210048.htm.

\_\_\_\_

For almost three decades, the Lord's Resistance Army has wreaked havoc and perpetrated mass atrocities on the people of Central Africa and the Great Lakes region. The LRA has killed, maimed, and displaced thousands. It has abducted children and forced them to commit unspeakable horrors. It has destroyed families and communities. Its acts are unconscionable and must be stopped once and for all.

This Council has repeatedly condemned the LRA's atrocities and supported decisive measures to end them. Our goal of permanently ending the LRA threat is within reach, but it will require sustained regional leadership and international support. The United States commends the African Union and governments in the region, particularly Uganda, for their concerted and continuing efforts to neutralize the LRA threat. The United States has provided significant assistance to support these regional efforts, including by sending U.S. military advisors to

enhance the capacity of regional forces to pursue top LRA commanders and protect local populations.

Our common commitment has resulted in notable progress. OCHA reports that, overall, there was a significant drop in the number of LRA attacks in 2012, compared to 2011. Some of those displaced by the LRA in South Sudan have begun to return home. And two of the LRA's most senior commanders, Ceasar Acellam and Vincent "Binany" Okumu, have been removed from the battlefield while scores of LRA members have defected or been released. To help bring the LRA's top commanders to justice, the United States, through the War Crimes Rewards Program, is offering rewards of up to \$5 million for information leading to the arrest, transfer, or conviction of LRA leaders Joseph Kony, Okot Odhiambo, and Dominic Ongwen.

Nevertheless, the LRA remains a regional threat with an outsized impact because of its brutality and reach. Joseph Kony is still at large, and the LRA continues to conduct attacks and commit abductions. Hundreds of thousands of people remain displaced throughout central Africa because of the LRA.

Instability across the region, particularly in the Central African Republic, threatens to halt and potentially reverse progress in the fight against the LRA. The United States believes that counter-LRA operations under the AU's Regional Task Force should resume as soon as possible. We welcome the CAR transitional government's assurances that counter-LRA operations will continue through the AU Regional Task Force. Further suspension of military operations in the CAR could allow the LRA to reorganize and further endanger civilians.

Meanwhile, the LRA continues to wreak havoc in other countries in the region, especially the Democratic Republic of Congo. According to OCHA, the DRC suffered 54 LRA attacks between January and March of this year—the most among LRA-affected countries in the region. FARDC and MONUSCO forces operating in northeastern DRC should renew their efforts to combat the LRA through expanded, more targeted patrols and increased information-sharing.

Furthermore, UN missions in the region and the AU-RTF need to develop a common picture of the LRA's operating disposition and investigate the LRA's logistical networks and possible sources of illicit financing.

The UN's comprehensive regional strategy is critical to coordinating UN and AU action to protect civilians from the LRA and strengthen the resilience of local communities. The United States fully supports this strategy and welcomes the new implementation plan produced by SRSG Moussa and UNOCA. We hope this translates swiftly into action in the region and, in particular, we urge rapid implementation of the DDRRR standard operating procedures and greater focus on roads and infrastructure projects to increase humanitarian access in the region. We request the Secretary-General to ensure that UNOCA has the staffing, particularly the technical experts, it needs to do so.

As we work to end the LRA's campaign of terror, we must also address the crisis in the Central African Republic, where the breakdown of law and order, ongoing human rights abuses, and the dire humanitarian situation pose a serious threat to regional stability. The United States applauds and appreciates the efforts of UN agencies and NGOs to ameliorate the humanitarian suffering amidst a challenging operating environment. CAR authorities, however, bear primary responsibility for protecting civilians and must do much more in this regard, particularly for women and children. They need to bring the Séléka fighters under control immediately, facilitate humanitarian access throughout the country, and enable a political transition. And perpetrators of human rights violations committed by both sides during the recent fighting must be held to account.

In addition to the LRA and instability in the Central African Republic, piracy and maritime armed robbery in the Gulf of Guinea remain serious security concerns for the region. The United States values UNOCA's support for regional coordination and capacity-building to combat these threats and looks forward to the regional Summit of Heads of State and Government this June where countries can demonstrate their leadership in addressing them.

We also welcome UNOCA's important preventive diplomacy and peacebuilding efforts to promote regional stability and urge UNOCA's continued attention to the challenges faced by women and girls in the sub-region, including female genital mutilation, early forced marriage, denial of access to education, and low political participation.

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# 5. Central African Republic

On December 5, 2013, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution on the crisis in the Central African Republic. U.N. Doc. S/RES/2127. Ambassador Power delivered remarks on the resolution at a Security Council stakeout on December 5<sup>th</sup>. Her remarks are excerpted below and available at

http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/218372.htm.

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Today's UN resolution marks a very important moment in the Council's response to the crisis in the Central African Republic. It reflects our shared belief that immediate action is required to avert a humanitarian catastrophe in the Central African Republic. Let me begin by thanking the African Union and the French government. One cannot overstate how important French leadership and this new military contribution is going to be. We commend and we support the robust efforts that are being made by countries who are putting their troops on the line to try to prevent atrocities and save lives in the CAR.

The U.S. government is deeply disturbed by the ongoing reports of brutality in the Central African Republic, including some of the instances that you all have referenced already, the horrific reports of violence overnight. Just yesterday, as you know, there were reports of gruesome machete attacks north of Bangui.

We have heard the accounts of tens of thousands of Christians sheltering in a church outside Bossangoa, with thousands of their Muslim neighbors huddled similarly in a nearby mosque, all of them fearing the possibility of an attack on their lives.

We know there are nearly 400,000 people displaced by violence—that's almost 10 percent of the country's total population—and we know that nearly half the population is affected by this crisis. It is clear that urgent action is required to save lives.

There are—these are the harrowing facts that this Security Council has deliberated in considering how best to move out in saving lives and how best to address the country's immediate needs as quickly as possible. Achieving these goals requires a credible military force with a robust mandate to engage in peace enforcement activities. Today's resolution gives us that. The deployment of MISCA and French forces with a Chapter VII mandate provides the

most immediate vehicle to protect civilians, prevent atrocities, and restore humanitarian access that has been lost.

The Security Council has rightly recognized that the situation in CAR is desperate and it is dynamic. What is necessary today may not be what is necessary tomorrow. As such, this resolution asks the UN Secretary General to begin contingency planning on the possible transition from MISCA to a UN peacekeeping operation if conditions warrant.

Some seem to hold the view that this Council is faced with deciding between the deployment of an African mission on the one hand or a UN mission on the other. This is a false choice. The fact is that should a UN peacekeeping mission be required in the future, the core of those forces are likely to be formed of the same African peacekeepers who have put their troops forward to try to save lives now. It is essential that these troops—the troops on the ground and the troops that are coming in to the Central African Republic—be properly equipped and properly mandated.

With that in mind, the United States pressed for, and achieved together with the Council, a resolution that strengthens the AU mission and joins it with this new infusion of French troops. The United States has already pledged an initial \$40 million in support to MISCA. We now call once more on others to join in pledging the required financial and logistic support required for MISCA to ensure it has what it needs to protect civilians.

Beyond the CAR's immediate needs, I am pleased that this resolution also reflects broad U.S. thinking on other tracks that will stabilize the situation and promote accountability for atrocities over the long-term. The resolution puts in a place a sanctions regime that establishes an arms embargo and that lays down a marker that the Council is prepared to impose measures that target both political spoilers and human rights abusers. The resolution also establishes a Commission of Inquiry, which should gather information that could point to criminal responsibility for use in future judicial cases.

Let us be clear here. This is an atrocities prevention situation, and our response will be based on what is most appropriate for saving lives. What matters right now to the civilians whose lives are hanging in the balance is actually not the color of the helmet of those tasked to protect them. What matters is whether the troops there move out aggressively to protect civilians and to restore security.

We need to employ the option today that will halt the carnage in the CAR the most quickly. We believe that involves giving our full support to our African and French colleagues who are stepping up to do so.

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#### 6. Sudan and South Sudan

In 2013, problems persisted with implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 ("CPA") in Sudan and South Sudan. The UN Security Council adopted several resolutions on Sudan and South Sudan in 2013. U.N. Doc. S/RES/2091; U.N. Doc. S/RES/2104; U.N. Doc. S/RES/2109; U.N. Doc. S/RES/2113; U.N. Doc. S/RES/2126; see also Ambassador Rice's remarks on resolution 2104, available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/210047.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/210047.htm</a>. In March 2013, the presidents of Sudan and South Sudan worked out detailed arrangements to implement agreements

they had previously signed in 2012. Ambassador Rice welcomed these implementation plans in remarks at the Security Council, but pointed out that "there have been many agreements signed but too few actually implemented." Ambassador Rice urged implementation of the agreements and also urged the parties to address outstanding issues such as the situations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile and Abyei. Ambassador Rice's March 12, 2013 remarks are available at

<u>http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205992.htm</u>. The United States, Norway, and the United Kingdom (the "troika") issued a ministerial joint statement on March 13, 2013 regarding this implementation plan. The joint statement is excerpted below and available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/206176.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/206176.htm</a>.

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We welcome the detailed arrangements approved by the Governments of Sudan and South Sudan this week to implement all nine agreements signed by Presidents Kiir and Bashir on 27 September 2012.

Most importantly, the new arrangements set clear deadlines for the withdrawal of forces from the disputed border and the establishment of a Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism operating within a Safe Demilitarized Border Zone, and they commit the parties to the resumption of oil production and the opening of the border for trade, which will provide such a vital boost to the economies of both countries.

We call on the parties to begin implementation of all aspects of these agreements immediately and unconditionally, as required by UN Security Council Resolution 2046. This spirit of cooperation should also create the conditions for the parties to make progress on all other unresolved issues, to include Abyei.

At the same time we remain deeply concerned by the security and humanitarian situation in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states in Sudan. It is imperative that both Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N) seize the opportunity of direct talks to address the urgent need for a cessation of hostilities, humanitarian access to all areas, and the longer-term political solution. We welcome SPLM-N's acceptance of the invitation to direct talks and urge the Government of Sudan to do the same, without pre-conditions.

We underline our continued support for the unceasing efforts of President Mbeki and the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel.

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Tensions worsened in Sudan and South Sudan as 2013 went on. On June 14, 2013, the troika issued another joint statement, excerpted below and available at <a href="https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/06/210637.htm">www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/06/210637.htm</a>.

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We are deeply concerned at the heightened tension between the Governments of Sudan and South Sudan. We call on both governments to comply fully with all of their September 27 agreements, including ceasing any support to rebel movements in each other's territories and withdrawing their forces fully from the Safe Demilitarized Border Zone. The Government of Sudan's announcement that it intends to stop the flow of South Sudanese oil transported via Sudan's pipeline is in contravention of these agreements. We urge the Government of Sudan to reconsider its position and call on both governments to continue constructive dialogue on implementation of these agreements, especially on oil and security.

The Troika reminds both sides of the commitment they made to a peaceful resolution of their disputes in signing the Addis Ababa agreements on 27 September 2012 and calls on them to cease their increasingly hostile rhetoric. Full implementation of all agreements, without conditionality, as well as progress on unresolved issues such as Abyei, presents the best path toward realizing these goals. We call on both governments to cease any interference in the internal affairs of the other state. In particular, we condemn any military support being provided to rebel movements in Sudan or South Sudan. Such support is clearly in breach of both the spirit and the letter of the Addis agreements and should end immediately.

We remind both governments that they committed under the Addis agreements to withdraw forces fully from the Safe Demilitarized Border Zone consistent with the African Union map which they have both accepted, and as called for by UN Security Council Resolution 2046. The UN Security Council has made a substantive commitment to support border security arrangements, by increasing the force levels of the UN Interim Security Force in Abyei for its participation in the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism. We urge both governments to resolve their concerns through the Joint Political Security Mechanism, the Petroleum Monitoring Committee and the other established bilateral mechanisms.

Abandoning internationally-supported security mechanisms and unilaterally shutting down oil will have serious implications for the viability of both states. We call on the two governments to recover their spirit of cooperation exhibited in past months and to commit to overcoming their differences. President Mbeki and the AU High-Level Implementation Panel have now proposed to the Heads of State practical measures to help the parties honor the commitments that they have already made to each other. The Troika supports these next steps as the only viable way forward and repeats our rejection of unilateral actions in word or deed that would damage our collective goal of lasting peace.

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### 7. Somalia

On March 6, 2013, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2093 on Somalia. The U.S. Mission to the UN issued the following statement, available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205683.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/205683.htm</a>, on adoption of Resolution 2093:

Today, the UN Security Council sent a clear signal of support to the new Somali Government. Resolution 2093 answers President Hassan Sheikh Mohamed's call for "one door to knock on," by unifying UN development and humanitarian work

under the UN Special Representative's direction. It also aligns UN support to assist the Somali Government in delivering services to its citizens.

Importantly, in recognition of the Somali government's progress, the Security Council has agreed to suspend the arms embargo on the government of Somalia while providing safeguards to ensure responsible development of the security sector and leaving the ban on Al Shabaab and other terrorist and extremist groups in place. We will continue to work to support the Government of Somalia as they endeavor to turn the page on two decades of civil war by maintaining recent progress and working closely with regional and international partners to improve the lives of all Somalis.

#### C. CONFLICT AVOIDANCE

## 1. Implementation of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security

On September 23, 2013, Secretary Kerry announced a new initiative to address gender-based violence in global humanitarian emergencies. The media note making the announcement is excerpted below and available at <a href="https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/09/214552.htm">www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/09/214552.htm</a>. The issues of women, peace, and security and sexual violence in conflict are also discussed in Chapter 6.B.2.

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Secretary of State John Kerry announced Monday the provision of \$10 million in funding for a new U.S. initiative, *Safe from the Start*, to prevent and respond to gender-based violence in humanitarian emergencies worldwide. Secretary Kerry emphasized that in the face of conflict and disaster, we should strive to protect women and girls from sexual assault and other violence.

Safe from the Start's initial commitment of \$10 million will allow the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and other humanitarian agencies and organizations to hire specialized staff, launch new programs, and develop innovative methods to protect women and girls at the onset of emergencies around the world. The United States will also coordinate with other donors and stakeholders to develop a framework for action and accountability to ensure efforts to address gender-based violence are routinely prioritized as a life-saving intervention along with other vital humanitarian assistance.

This initiative builds on the framework established by the U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security and the U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally. It will be led by the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Bureau of Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance.

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### 2. Post-Conflict Peacebuilding

On April 25, 2013, Ambassador DiCarlo addressed a briefing at the UN on post-conflict peacebuilding. Her remarks are excerpted below and available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/208002.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/208002.htm</a>.

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The United States appreciates the contributions of the Peacebuilding Commission, Peacebuilding Fund, and Peacebuilding Support Office and recognizes the PBC's value as a common platform for international actors working in support of sustainable peace and development. From mobilizing resources to developing partnerships to building bridges among different UN entities in support of peacebuilding objectives, the PBC continues to evolve to reach its full potential. We share the Secretary General's view that strong national ownership of the peacebuilding process, a closer relationship between headquarters and UN actors in the field, and prioritization of resources are essential to the PBC's success.

In this regard, I'd like to focus on three areas where the PBC has great opportunity for added value: political governance, economic governance, and justice and security sector reform.

Mr. President, peace and security require basic political agreement on the structures of government and the rules of politics. Effective, resilient, and inclusive governance institutions are essential to ending recurring conflict and enabling long-term, broad-based economic growth and development. As President Obama said in 2009, "Good governance is the ingredient that can unlock Africa's enormous potential." Following successful national elections in Sierra Leone, for example, the PBC's role in developing coherent short- and long-term peacebuilding objectives and identifying national capacity gaps, particularly related to governance, is increasingly important.

International support, however, cannot substitute for the national government nor overcome the absence of a durable political settlement. We note that PBC engagement in Guinea-Bissau is suspended following the April 2012 coup d'état, and the Central African Republic has started down a similarly troubling path. Before the CAR can stabilize and develop, constitutional order must be restored and the Libreville and N'Djamena agreements must be implemented. The Commission must be prepared to step in and facilitate international support for effective government institutions once conditions allow. Unlocking the vast untapped potential of women as political leaders and in building governance institutions is also essential. Every effort must be made to ensure that women are included and supported as the PBC helps national actors interface with the UN system, mobilize the appropriate resources, and generate momentum for further support and positive action.

Economic governance is equally important for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery. Partnerships with the World Bank, the IMF, and regional development banks are critical since they have the tools and expertise to build the capacity of institutions of public finance. In Burundi, the PBC's engagement with international financial institutions led to the inclusion of peacebuilding priorities in its second generation poverty reduction strategy. Furthermore, thanks in no small part to the efforts of Ambassador Seger and the country configuration, more than \$2.5 billion was pledged at the October 2012 Burundi partners' conference. Indeed, the PBC's ability to mobilize resources and to ensure inclusivity of women and underrepresented groups is

crucial for countries transitioning from conflict to development phases, but donors must have confidence in a country's capacity to absorb and manage its contributions responsibly.

Beyond the necessity of capable political and economic governance, ordinary citizens must feel safe and secure in their daily lives for peacebuilding to succeed. They need to be able to trust in the rule of law and the state's security forces. Yet, in the aftermath of conflict, there is usually a need to build up the justice sector while the security sector is typically in need of reform and downsizing. Women need to take part and be included in reforming the institutions of law and security so that the needs of the entire society are met.

The PBC can and should help sustain political momentum for such efforts. In Liberia, the PBC not only facilitated the participation of key stakeholders to establish justice hubs to bring security and justice services to Liberians outside of the capital but helped to enable a structured roadmap that kept the project on track and coordinated. We understand the first hub is already providing essential services, including counseling for victims of sexual and gender-based violence.

Mr. President, too often, our attention is focused acutely on ending the fighting and stopping the bloodshed. But when the guns fall silent, the wounds of war are far from healed and the causes of conflict far from resolved. For this reason, the PBC remains important and must continue to improve its effectiveness in catalyzing political momentum and mobilizing the resources needed to assist countries transitioning from conflict to peace.

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# 3. Responsibility to Protect

On September 11, 2013, Ambassador Power addressed an informal interactive dialogue on the responsibility to protect at the UN. Her statement, excerpted below, is available at <a href="http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/214066.htm">http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/214066.htm</a>.

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We are here today because in 2005 the nations of the world met in this Assembly and reached a consensus that the protection of civilians against the most horrific crimes known to man presents an urgent summons to each and all of us. All governments have a responsibility to protect their people from these crimes, and all nations have a stake in helping them meet that responsibility.

Having joined that consensus, it is appalling to see what the Syrian government has wrought on its own people over the last two years. And yet even against this murderous backdrop, the events of August 21 stand out. On that day, the world watched with horror as the Assad regime deployed chemical weapons against its own people, poisoning over 1,000 men, women and children—hundreds of children—with a chemical nerve agent as many of them slept.

When we focus on this attack, as we have of late, the question invariably arises: What about the tens of thousands of civilians who have died through more conventional means? Were they owed any less protection? Of course not. The mother who has to live without her five year-old daughter because she was killed by a sniper feels the pain no less searingly than the father whose five year-old son was asphyxiated in a sarin attack. All attacks on civilians are an outrage that should shock the conscience. We must also recognize that the use of chemical weapons

crosses a line. These weapons are particularly grotesque, efficient, and indiscriminate. Their use can't be reconciled with basic principles of humanity that apply, even in wartime. And their proliferation poses a correspondingly high risk to international peace and security, but, more concretely, to citizens in all countries. When the norm is violated, as it was on August 21, the violation cannot go unanswered, unless we are willing to see these weapons used again. And on this my government has spoken clearly: we are not.

The consensus reached in September 2005 should not be code for necessitating military intervention. But R2P is a doctrine for prevention.

It should have compelled Assad to protect his people rather than attack them, and it should have compelled his partners in the international community to step in earlier, lend advice and assistance, and prevent the situation from reaching its current metastatic proportions. It should have. Clearly, it is the understatement of the year to say we still have work to do.

In the area of prevention there is much we can do. To offer some examples, we can prioritize atrocity prevention at the national level. For R2P to mean anything, governments must go beyond their general support for the World Summit outcome document and make it clear—from the Head of State downward—that the protection of civilians is a priority. This focus for us has clarified—this leadership by President Obama has clarified—the way in which we have worked to meet crises, from the Kivus to Rakhine State in Burma.

Governments can organize to make sure that all of our national capabilities—diplomatic, development, financial, justice, and defense—are being honed and used to best effect in the service of atrocity prevention. Much has been made of President Obama's Atrocity Prevention Board, but it is simply a high-level vehicle to press the rest of the government to help ensure we are working to deploy the full range of preventative tools we have to ensure civilians are protected.

We can multilateralize our efforts. As I noted earlier, R2P recognizes that the prevention of atrocities is a matter of international concern. That's why the recently adopted Arms Trade Treaty, which will help prevent the illicit flow of arms to atrocity perpetrators, is so important. It's why peacekeeping missions should have the training and mandates they need, and it's why we each need to support the UN Secretariat—including our dynamic colleague, UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, Adama Dieng. Given the important role that UN mediation capacity plays, I am pleased that the Friends of Mediation, which the U.S. recently joined, will be meeting at the ministerial level on the margins of the General Assembly opening session to advance support for this critical function.

In conclusion, these are just three ideas—prioritize, organize, multilateralize—but for my government, they have provided an important place to start. I know your governments have your own approaches, and I look forward to hearing about and learning from them. The international consensus around R2P remains a signal achievement of multilateral cooperation and a testament to our common humanity. But as we share ideas, there is one thing on which I hope we can all agree: we have a great deal of work to do. The important framework that the Outcome Document created in 2005 remains more aspirational than it is real. Eight years and countless innocent lives later, we are the ones who have a responsibility to make it real.

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#### **Cross References**

International Criminal Court, Chapter 3.C.

Actions at the Human Rights Council regarding Syria, Chapter 6.A.4.b.

Sexual violence in conflict, Chapter 6.B.2.a.

Palestinian membership efforts at the UN, Chapter 7.B.

Recording Israel as place of birth on passport (Zivotofsky), Chapter 9.C.

Looting of museums and archaeological sites in Syria, Chapter 14.B.

*Syria-related sanctions,* **Chapter 16.A.2.** 

Sanctions relating to restoration of peace and security, **Chapter 16.A.7.** 

Potential use of force in Syria, Chapter 18.A.2.

Syrian chemical weapons, Chapter 19.F.1.